

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03861 260246Z

72

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NRC-05 FEA-01 AF-06 ARA-06 CIAE-00

DODE-00 EA-06 EUR-12 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03

NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01

PRS-01 OES-03 SS-15 SAJ-01 OMB-01 SAM-01 TRSE-00

BIB-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /116 W

----- 064817

O R 252104Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3207

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

ERDA GERMANTOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3861

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: NPT REVCON: MEETING BETWEEN MADAME THORSSON, PRESIDENT OF THE  
CONFERENCE AND KLEIN, ACTING CHAIRMAN USDEL

1. MADAME INGA THORSSON, PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE,  
ASKED FOR A MEETING WITH KLEIN TO DISCUSS FURTHER AND  
FINAL WORK OF THE CONFERENCE. (SHE APPARENTLY HAD SET  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 03861 260246Z

UP SIMILAR MEETINGS WITH THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE AND

SOME OTHER DELEGATION HEADS.)

2. MRS. THORSSON FIRST DESCRIBED HER PROCEDURAL PLANS WHICH SHE FELT WOULD ENSURE A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE BY FRIDAY PM, MAY 30TH. SHE HOPED THAT AT THAT TIME ALL THE PARTIES AT THE CONFERENCE COULD SUBSCRIBE TO A FINAL ACT WHICH WOULD CONSIST OF A DECLARATION PLUS A VARIETY OF DOCUMENTS (HELD TO A MINIMAL NUMBER) WHICH WOULD EITHER ELABRATE UPON POSITIONS ALREADY AGREED UPON IN THE DECLARATION OR PROVIDE THE MEANS FOR THOSE STATES WHICH SO SEISRED TO REGISTER DISSENT. SHE WENT ON TO SAY SHE HOPED THE CONFERENCE COULD REACH CONSENSUS ON THOSE ISSUES WHERE THERE WAS EASY AGREEMENT, AND THEN DEVOTE ITS ENERGIES TO DETERMINE HOW BEST TO DEAL WITH THE UNRESOLVED ISSUES.

3. KLEIN SAID HE AGREED, FOR THE MOST PART, WITH MADAME THORSSON'S WORK PLAN. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT REPEAT NOT FULLY SHARE HER VIEWS ON THE STEPS NEEDED TO REACH AGREEMENT. AS FAR AS THE US DELEGATION WAS CONCERNED, THE FINAL ACT, WHATEVER ITS FORM AND CONTENT, COULD ONLY BE ACCEPTED AD REFERENDUM. SO CONSENSUS WOULD HAVE TO BE REACHED ON THE ENTIRE FINAL ACT AND NOT ON INDIVIDUAL PARTS. FOR ITS PART, THE US DELEGATION COULD NOT AGREE TO SINGLE PORTIONS OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS UNLESS ALL THE DOCUMENTS, TAKEN TOGETHER, WERE ACCEPTABLE.

4. IN RESPONSE TO MADAME THORSSON'S QUESTION ABOUT THE US VIEWS ON DEALING WITH DISSENTING DOCUMENTS, KLEIN SAID THAT WOULD DEPEND ON THE ISSUES AT STAKE, THE PHRASEOLOGY USED, THE FORMAT CHOSEN, AND THE RESPONSE EXPECTED FROM THE UNITED STATES.

5. MADAME THORSSON THEN ASKED WHAT THE UNITED STATES WAS PREPARED TO DO TO MEET THE EXPRESSED DESIRE OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES ON SUCH ISSUES AS VERTICAL PROLIFERATION, TEST BAN, AND SECURITY ASSURANCES. REPLYING, KLEIN SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES' VIEWS ON ALL THESE ISSUES HAD BEEN SPELLED OUT IN DETAIL IN HIS OWN STATEMENTS TO THE CONFERENCE (GENEVA 3512, GENEVA 3698, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 03861 260246Z

GENEVA 3825). IN THOSE PRESENTATIONS WE TRIED TO BE STRAIGHTFORWARD, CANDID, AND RESPONSIVE TO THE VIEWS PRESENTED. THERE WAS IN FACT NO FURTHER GIVE ON THESE ISSUES FOR THE REASONS ALREADY CAREFULLY SPELLED OUT BY THE US DELEGATION. MOREOVER, THE US WOULD NOT AGREE TO ANY DOCUMENT OR ANY LANGUAGE WHICH APPEARED TO CRITICIZE THE US POSITIONS ON THESE THREE MAJOR MATTERS ITEMS, OR SEEMED INTENDED, EXPLICITLY OR OTHERWISE, TO PUT US IN THE DOCK.

6. KLEIN WENT ON TO SAY THAT IT WAS HIS VIEW THAT A DISPROPORTIONATE AMOUNT OF THE CONFERENCE TIME HAD BEEN SPENT ON ARTICLE VI. WHILE HE HAD LISTENED CAREFULLY TO THE STATEMENTS MADE, UNDERSTOOD WHAT WAS SAID AND REPORTED TO WASHINGTON IN DETAILS THE VIEWS PRESENTED, HE FELT THAT THE CONFERENCE BY MISPLACED EFFORT, MIGHT BE IN DANGER OF MISSING A VALUABLE OPPORTUNITY. DESPITE CONFERENCE RHETORIC, HE (KLEIN) DOUBTED THAT THE WORLD WAS MORE UNCOMFORTABLE ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF SO-CALLED VERTICAL PROLIFERATION NOW THAT THE US AND USSR WERE ENGAGED IN INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS MATTER THAN IT WAS BEFORE NPT AND BEFORE THE NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN. BY THE SAME TOKEN, DESPITE EXPLICIT STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE IMPROTANT ISSUE WAS VERTICAL RATHER THAN HORIZONTAL PROLIFERATION, HE DOUBTED THAT THE INDIAN EXPLOSION OF LAT YEAR LEFT THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY THE NNWS PARTY TO THE TREATY AND PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE, COMFORTABLE AND UNCONCERNED. THE FACT WAS THE INTEREST IN AND THE NEED FOR NUCLEAR POWER, GIVEN THE STATE OF THE ART AND THE ENERGY PROBLEM, WOULD BECOME EVER GREATER. SO A REAL ISSUE BEFORE THIS CONFERENCE WAS HOW TO DEAL WITH THIS FACT OF INTENTIONAL LIFE AND CONSEQUENT NEED TO KEEP THE WRLD SAFE.

7. MADAME RHORSSON SAID THAT WHILE SHE AGREED WITH A GOOD PART OF WHAT KLEIN SAID, FACT WAS THAT THERE WAS AN IMPATIENCE AMONG THE NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES, ON THE ISSUE OF THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN. IN FACT, TWO OR THREE DELEGATES HAD TOLD HER THAT UNLESS THEY RECEIVED SOME MEANINGFUL SATISFACTION ON THIS POINT, THEIR GOVERNMENTS MIGHT CONSIDER LEAVING THE TREATY. KLEIN ASKED WHETHER SUCH THREATS WERE REAL, OR NEGOTIATING TACTICS. HE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 03861 260246Z

WONDERED WHETER ANY OF THE COUNTRIES REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE COULD REALLY CONTEMPLATE A WORLD WITHOUT THE NPT--GIVEN THE BENEFITS DERIVED OR WHETHER THEY SERIOUSLY HAD CONSIDERED WHAT MIGHT FOLLOW IF THE NPT REGIME WERE UNDERMINED.

8. IN FACT, KLEIN WENT ON TO SAY, THE REAL POINT WAS THAT NPT WAS NOT REPEAT NOT THE DEVICE OF THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES DESIGNED TO SERVE THEIR EXCLUSIVE AND PECULIAR NEEDS. NPT HAD VALUE BECAUSE IT SERVED THE MUTUAL AND COLLECTIVE NEEDS OF THE PARTIES, THE NUCLEAR AND THE NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES ALIKE, AND INDEED MADE FOR GREATER SECURITY THAN WOULD OTHERWISE BE POSSIBLE.

9. THE MEETING WITH MR. THORSSON ENDED ON A FRIENDLY

NOTE. SHE AND KLEIN AGREED TO WORK HARD TO BRING THE  
CONFERENCE TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION SO THAT ALL PARTIES  
COULD TAKE SATISFACTION WITH ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS. INDEED,  
THEY AGREED THIS WAS ESSENTIAL IF THE TREATY WAS TO  
REMAIN THE VALUABLE AND USEFUL INSTRUMENT IT WAS INTENDED  
TO BE. THEY ALSO PROMISED TO STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH DURING  
THE HECTIC LAST WEEK OF NEGOTIATING THAT LAY  
AHEAD.

DALE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NPT, NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL, NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS, AGREEMENT DRAFT, LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY, DOCUMENTS, MEETINGS, RESOLUTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 MAY 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975GENEVA03861  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750184-0213  
**From:** GENEVA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750518/aaaaaqes.tel  
**Line Count:** 178  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION ACDA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 02 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <02 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <07 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NPT REVCON: MEETING BETWEEN MADAME THORSSON, PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE AND KLEIN, ACTING CHAIRMAN  
USDEL  
**TAGS:** PARM, (THORSSON, INGA)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006